/116 cont./

593 he soon loses all desire for further mistreatment. The other members of the tribe watch such a spectacle with interest. Moreover, it is worth noting that most of the women are very energetic and can scold with persistence. If a woman is angry with her husband, perhaps because he was unfaithful or did not go hunting, she will often scold loudly to herself for hours, so that all the other occupants of the maloka hear every word.

[592] Meanwhile, however, the man being scolded remains lying in hammock in stoic calm, for a scolding woman may never be

598 interrupted. But between women, too, there are sometimes regular cannonades of vituperation carried on with the greatest vocal display. I always had the impression that at any moment they would come to blows. Sometimes this actually happens. Then they pull one another by the hair and strike each other in the face and on the rest of the body with the hands. /117/ In this case, other women do not interfere, nor do the men. Everybody watches calmly and waits until the scuffle is over.

•855 Children are treated with special love and tenderness. In most cases, they show their gratitude to their parents by bestow-

888 ing upon them everlasting affection. I never saw old people neglected (559). If they became so weak and ill that they were

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559. Baldus also reports of the Tapirapé that the old people are very well treated there (Baldus, 1956, p. 603), whereas later Giacone paints a very gloomy picture in this respect about the Tukano: "Entre os índios dêsses rios, a condição dos velhos é das mais penosas .... Poderíamos dizer, sem medo de errar, que o velho ou a velha, quando não pode mais trabalhar para a família, é considerado como bananeira que já deu cacho, e ninguem terá compaixão deles... /Among the Indians of these rivers the situation of the old people is most painful .... We might say, without fear of error, that the old man or old woman, when

/214 cont./

554 him to commit a similar excess. In their traditional duels no one dares to fight with the guapo, for they are afraid that in the heat of the encounter he may lose control of himself and kill
[621] his adversary. Apparently there is only one guapo in each local group, and, from what can be seen, he may have the social mission to eliminate the weak elements in the group, in spite
554 of his not realizing that that is his function. It was explained to us,
769 for example, that on occasion the neighboring group is invited to
628 the feast of the dead, when, the ashes reduced to fine powder,
[266] they ingest those of their dead companions. This invitation is extended to the enemy group in particular if it is known with certainty that among the dead whose ashes they are about to take there is one who died through the magical intervention of a member of the enemy band. During the ceremony the sablf shaman, before opening the gourd which contains the ashes, points out to the guapo of his group the probable murderer in the opposite band, who, in order to avoid complications, is always the weakest man in the group. The feast proceeds as though nothing had happened, but the enemies who lost the man during the feast invite their adversaries to celebrate the feast of their dead also.

554 Old people, for their part, do not seem to be very safe be-
[888] fore this element, /215/ and some Sanemá of the Ventuari ex-
[574] plained that the guapo must treat visitors in this way in order to prove his courage. It would be interesting to know in greater detail the function of the Sanemá guapo and to find out whether these are isolated cases or a traditional phenomenon.

842 The Sanemá believe that the child exists in the father,
162 who passes it to the mother so that it may grow and be born. In the Sanemá communities which we visited on our expedition
● 855 we were surprised at the small number of children to be found in the settlement. The parents showed much affection for their children, and when these latter have grown somewhat they participate, to the degree that their age and strength allow, in all the activities of the adults.

881 It seems that they are acquainted with rites indicatory of
ooo the onset of puberty for a boy or girl. The first menstrual period

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

minutes later the two women were quietly walking home with the baby, who appeared to be dead.

While the mother goes about her normal tasks, with the child tied on her back all the time, the father stays in the hammock, absolutely motionless, eating nothing but fruit and palm-hearts—'they don't heat the blood,' Luis Antonio assured us.

Among the Guiana-Amazon Indians I have never heard of the father himself suffering from birth-pangs during this period of rest. Such reports, however, have come from travellers and observers of the Indian tribes inhabiting the southern regions of the lower Amazon. Before one can believe them one must accept a little more than the theory of the inter-relation of cause and effect. A good dose of barefaced auto-suggestion would also be needed to account for this phenomenon, and only the most undeveloped of the Indians would be capable of it.

IV

Of kindred interest, while we are on the subject of childbirth, is the organization of Indian society. It has been asked whether the pattern is patriarchal or matriarchal, and what part is played by the individual family.

If the question is limited to the Shirians, the answer is simple: they have reached no stage of organization above the rudimentary animal level. The family has the sole function of producing life and protecting it until the offspring is capable of fending for itself. Their society is not patriarchal, because the role of the family ceases where its physical functions cease, at the point where, in civilized societies, moral functions begin. Nor is the pattern matriarchal, because the women are held in a form of slavery, though the very lack of an exact social system means that they sometimes emerge from this to become the companions of the men—a state of affairs which may be regarded as more emancipated, or less.

The children of both sexes, while they are young, remain the exclusive responsibility of the women, but when the boys reach an age at which they can do without their mothers (this generally means as soon as they cease to be breast-fed) they become independent males and do not belong to anybody in particular. Up to a certain point the father is free to pick out one who may be

484 plantains to eat en route. Most of the time they did not even carry their hammocks, as these could be easily manufactured from bark strips in a matter of minutes.

462 495 Women make several kinds of baskets, including ones to carry the family possessions when the group moves. When the entire village moves, progress is slow and only a few miles are covered each day. The reason for this is that 488 458 older people and those who are sick travel very slowly, 455 children must be carried by their parents, and food in large quantities must be transported to provision the moving group. Thus, a trip that a group of young men could easily make in one day would require two or three days if the entire village moved that distance.

415 323 The only non-portable[1] (as well as the only durable) item made by the Yąnomamö is a large, heavy, poorly fired 184 493 clay pot. These are manufactured by only a few villages, which serve as trading centers for this industry. They are 462 422 562 made by men and are their property since women are too clumsy to be permitted to handle and use them and would probably break them. When a pot does break, the fragments are used as mortars for grinding drugs, small stone celts, found in the woods by the Yąnomamö, serving as pestles. The larger fragments of a broken pot are used as cooking plates in the 199 manufacture of cassave bread. Despite the fact that most of the Yąnomamö villages have not been contacted directly, the

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[1] The pots are concealed in the garden when the group moves.

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Fig. 1–5. Ariwari, Kaobawä's son, being fondled by his mother's brother. This is a very intimate kinship relationship in Yanomamö society.

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

Women always bring their children with them, particularly younger children, so that if they are abducted, the child will not starve to death because of the separation of the mother. They are therefore concerned with the political behavior of their men and occasionally goad them into taking action against some possible enemy by caustically accusing the men of cowardice. This has the effect of establishing the village's reputation for ferocity, reducing the possibility of raiders abducting the women while they are out collecting firewood or garden produce. The men cannot stand being chided by the women in this fashion, and are forced to take action if the women unite against them.

560 727 [869]

CHILD-ADULT DIVISION Despite the fact that children of both sexes spend much of their time with their mothers, the boys alone are treated with considerable indulgence by their fathers from an early age. Thus, the distinction between male and female status develops early in the socialization process, and the boys are quick to learn their favored position with respect to girls. They are encouraged to be "fierce" and are rarely punished by their parents for inflicting blows on them or on the hapless girls in the village. Kaobawä, for example, lets Ariwari bent him on the face and head to express his anger and temper, laughing and commenting on his ferocity. Although Ariwari is only about four years old, he has already learned that the appropriate response to a flush of anger is to strike someone with his hand or with an object, and it is not uncommon for him to give his father a healthy smack in the face whenever something displeases him. He is frequently goaded into hitting his father by teasing, being rewarded by gleeful cheers of assent from his mother and from the other adults in the household.

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Fig. 3-7. Ariwari, Kaobawä's favorite son, building a make-believe house while camping with his father. His "sister" (father's brother's daughter) looks on.

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11: Chagnon E-S (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

men built his own section of the village, but in such a way that the roofs coincided and could be attached by simply extending the thatching. When completed, the village looked like a continuous, oval-shaped lean-to because of the way in which the roofs of the discrete houses were attached. Each house, however, is owned by the family that built it. Sharaiwä, Kaobawä's youngest brother, helped build Kaobawä's house and shares it with him. He also shares Koamashima, Kaobawä's younger wife. Kaobawä's older wife, Bahimi, hangs her hammock adjacent to Kaobawä's most of the time, but when there are visitors and the village is crowded, she ties her hammock under his in order to be able to tend the fire during the night. Ariwari still sleeps with his mother, but will get his own hammock soon: He is nearly four years old. His parents are afraid he will fall into the fire at night and get burned, since he is still a little too young to sleep alone.[21]

Daily activities begin early in a Yanomamö village. One can hear people chatting lazily and children crying long before it is light enough to see. Most people are waked by the cold and build up the fire just before daybreak. They usually go back to sleep, but many of them visit and talk about their plans for the day.

The entrances are all covered with dry brush so that any movement of people through them is heard all over the village. There is always a procession of people leaving the village at dawn to relieve themselves in the nearby garden, and the noise they make going in and out of the village usually awakens the others.

The village is very smoky at this time of day, since the newly stoked campfires smoulder before they leap into flames. The air is usually very still and chilly, and the ground is damp from the dew. The smoke is pleasant and seems to drive away the coolness.

Clandestine sexual liasons usually take place at this time of day, having been arranged on the previous evening. The lovers leave the village on the pretext of going to the bathroom and meet at some predetermined location. They return to the village by opposite routes.

This is also the time of day when raiders strike, so people must be cautious when they leave the village at dawn. If there is some reason to suspect raiders, they do not leave the confines of the upright log palisade that surrounds the village. They wait instead until full light and leave the village in armed groups.

By the time it is light enough to see, everybody has started preparing breakfast. This consists largely of roasted green plantains, easily prepared and steaming hot. If the family has any meat, it is taken down and shared, the children getting the best portions. Leftover meat is hung over the fire by a vine to keep the vermin off it and to preserve it.

If any of the men have made plans to hunt that day, they leave the village before it is light. Wild turkeys can be easily taken at this time of day because they roost in conspicuous places. During the dry season the *hashimo* (a kind of grouse) sing before dark and can be readily located. If any were heard the night before, the men leave at dawn to stalk them.

Tobacco chewing starts as soon as people begin stirring. Those who have fresh

[21] A child fell into a fire and burned to death in 1966—the mother had placed her hammock too close to the fire in order to keep warm, and the baby slipped from her arms while she slept. Bahimi's mother also sleeps in Kaobawä's house, but he does not have to avoid her because she is an old woman.